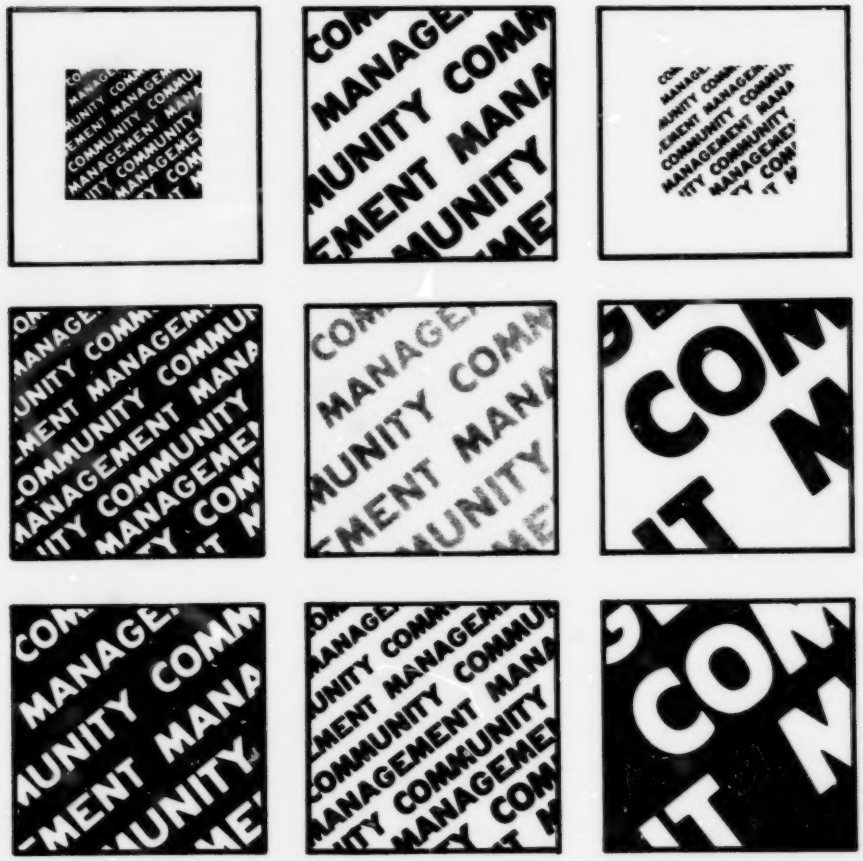

THE SOCIAL PLANNING and RESEARCH COUNCIL of Hamilton and District

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VOLUNTEER-UNION RELATIONS: A DISCUSSION PAPER

NOVEMBER, 1983

by

Linda L. Graff
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INTRODUCTION

Lady Bountiful is on her deathbed. The upper class woman of the 1800's administering unto the sick, the impoverished and the orphaned is an image of the past. Voluntary action is flourishing, but it does not often resemble the stereotyped notion of charity which the word "volunteer" still conjures in the minds of many.

The motivating force behind volunteer work may continue to be for some, the desire to "help others less fortunate". But a new wave of volunteers seeking involvement for reasons such as job preparation, self-exploration and personal growth predominates.

Personal commitment to social or community change has sparked a movement of citizens getting involved in the decision-making which affects their own lives. Manifested in increasing numbers of self-help and community groups, neighbourhood associations, environmental lobbies and special interest groups, volunteerism is playing a significant role in social advocacy.

As voluntary action expands into new areas and grows as a movement, we find volunteers performing a wide variety of work under all kinds of programs and sponsorship. While not solely confined to the social service, education and health systems, volunteers do continue to be concentrated in these settings.

Expansion of organized labour into the public sector has paralleled this expansion of voluntary action. Both the labour movement and the volunteer movement have, of course, existed for over a century, but it is a relatively recent circumstance in which both organized labour and volunteers share the workplace. This proximity and participation in similar spheres of service appears to have resulted in each movement taking more note of the other.

Despite the increasing prevalence of co-existence relatively little has been written about the potential for either co-operative action or tension between the two. In fact, it has been suggested that the issue of volunteer-union relations is one which the volunteer community has essentially avoided for years. (McCurley, 1979: 15; Coinner, 1979: 1)

...

It is only in the last several years that we have seen this matter addressed, at least in this country, in the literature related to either movement. 1/

Some organizations have examined their own settings and have developed policies about the proper function of volunteers in relation to paid staff. Yet, it appears that many others have not attended to the questions or continue to struggle toward resolutions satisfactory to all concerned parties.

In the past couple of years at the Volunteer Bureau, we have seen an increase in the frequency of requests for assistance around the question of volunteer-union relations. Initiated by voluntary organizations, these requests typically deal with questions such as "How can volunteers best work alongside paid staff?", "How can an organization maintain quality staff/volunteer relations?", and "What should the role of volunteers be in the event of a strike?".

Progress from concern to actual conflict has remained rare although a few cases of grievances have been documented. 2/ It appears that the prevalence of the questions and the awareness of the issues are increasing in advance of real conflict.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the matter of volunteer-union relations. Beginning with a general exploration of the development of each movement in the human service system, views about the relative roles of the voluntary sector, government, and labour in the delivery and monitoring of services will be noted. Identifying the goals of each movement will point to the potential for co-operative action in achieving and maintaining a comprehensive and accessible human service system. It is hoped that illustration of parallel objectives and shared concerns will encourage leaders of each movement to identify the advantages and benefits each could secure through working with the other.

The second section of this paper will deal more specifically with the relationship between volunteers and paid staff within not-for-profit organizations and institutions. This relationship is central to the success of a volunteer

...

program and sensitivity to the concerns of staff must be present in the placement and management of volunteers. The issues of volunteers displacing and replacing paid staff figure prominently in the concerns of labour toward volunteerism and both are explored in this chapter.

In the third section, the difficult and perhaps most volatile question concerning the appropriate role for volunteers during a strike will be explored. It is suggested that each organization determine its own position on this question and the various arguments for and against the use of volunteers during strikes are outlined.

The centrality of the co-ordinator of volunteers in initiating discussions, guidelines, and action is the focus of the final portion of this paper. Acting as personnel manager for unpaid staff and as their advocate, the co-ordinator's role is key in policy formulation to guide volunteer-union-management relations. Co-ordinators are urged to face these issues and to begin dialogue as necessary.

It is hoped that this discussion of volunteer-union relations will guide administrators, co-ordinators, labour representatives and individual volunteers in their difficult and complex decisions. The reader will note a prevalence of diverse, and at times, competing views throughout the following discussion. It is impossible to recommend guidelines which would be applicable to many organizations.

What can be is that the issues be carefully considered by all voluntary organizations regardless of the presence or not of a bargaining agent; that action begin in order to develop guidelines appropriate to the individual setting; and that a tri-lateral decision-making process involving labour, management, and volunteer representatives be employed.

SECTION I

THE VOLUNTEER AND LABOUR MOVEMENTS: CO-EXISTENCE AND THE POTENTIAL FOR CO-OPERATIVE ACTION

As the volunteer and labour movements both monitor the potential for governments to withdraw support of human services in the 1980's, concern arises over how services will continue to remain available. The voluntary sector has come to play a central part in the administration of the human service system while volunteers have moved through changing roles in relation to the delivery of services. Because the voluntary sector and volunteers have been prepared to monitor gaps in services and pilot innovative intervention methods, labour fears that a renewed involvement by the voluntary sector may facilitate government withdrawal.

If one examines the historical development of voluntary action and the objectives of voluntary organizations and volunteer groups, it becomes clear that neither is likely to accept diminished government involvement without protest. Examination of the concerns of labour around maintenance of a comprehensive and accessible human service system suggests that, in fact, there exists a clear potential for co-operation between the volunteer and labour movements.

Rather than a growth in tension between the two movements, this section will point to the similarity of objectives, shared concerns and the advantages to both in further exploration of collective action.

It is hoped that this illustration of shared objectives will encourage leaders of both movements to initiate dialogue with each other and to begin to outline methods whereby the constituents and power of each movement can be mobilized to ensure the preservation and expansion of our existing human service system.

A. CHARITY, GOVERNMENT SPONSORSHIP, AND THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR: A CENTURY OF SHIFTING ROLES

Prior to the late 1800's Canadian society was primarily rural. In such settings, the family was self-supporting and turned to neighbours and the

...

local community for help when necessary. Formalized assistance programs were virtually unknown to farm dwellers.

As urbanization spread throughout this country with the coming of industrialization and wage labour, an increasing proportion of the Canadian population was concentrated in urban centres. The eventual decline of that close and supportive community for urban residents was accompanied by an increase in economic disparity, poverty, unemployment and other social problems related to urbanization.

As in the United Kingdom whose lead Canada followed in its later design of social services, Canadian cities saw the growth of relatively unorganized charitable activity. In a void of statutory or institutionalized social welfare services, "good deeds" were the domain of the proverbial "Lady Bountiful". Upper middle-class ladies administered unto the sick, the orphaned and the impoverished and with motives appearing to be a mix of religious, paternalistic, and moralistic factors. In Weinberger's words:

> The founders of the charity organization movement represented bourgeois benevolence. They adhered to the notion that dependency resulted from personal fault, illeness, drinking or vice. Based on this orientation, the volunteers who visited needy families provided not only financial assistance but also friendly advice, made suggestions about finding work and left literature designed to strengthen the moral fibre of the indigent and to encourage them to become self-supporting. (1969:60)

The numbers of voluntary organizations grew in the early decades of this century, and notions about social welfare began to change with new "insights" into the causes of poverty. 3/

Statutory programs continued to be rare in the early part of this century except in a few cases such as those around child protection and later, workmen's compensation, both pioneered in Ontario.

...

The realm of what we now term "human services" was relatively non-existent and those actions which were taken were of a voluntary-charitable-nature. Assistance to individuals and families was actually argued to be the province of the voluntary sector with suspicions and arguments about government assuming some responsibility in this area carrying well into the 1930's and 40's. 4/

It was in the 1940's that the Canadian government began to assume substantive responsibility for social assistance with the initiation of programs such as the Family Allowance. While, perhaps, also linked to changing social perceptions of "the deserving poor", it seems apparent that the entry of government into social welfare was not simply "humanitarian".

> Indeed, humanitarian motives may be minor or non-existent in the political decisions that lead to welfare legislation for such laws tend to arise...from political necessity and not humanitarian predispositions... While love of fellowman may have been a motive for some individual reformers and welfare leaders...it was not the power that moved the men in power.' (Romanyshyn, 1971:8)

Post World War II planning for reconstruction in this country lead to the design of blueprints for social services. Government accepted greater responsibility for the financing of welfare programs throughout the 50's and developments such as the Canada Assistance Plan in 1965 paved the way for governments cost-sharing and the purchase of service contracts with voluntary agencies.

The social work profession also developed through the period of voluntary organization to government-sponsored service delivery. What had decades before been simple charity by untrained volunteers moved through a period of "non-institutionalized enthusiasm in the fight against entrenched evils to a stage characterized by a professionalized worker offering a regularized, necessary social service in a systematic and skillful manner." (Bisno, 1969:49)

...

Voluntary organizations did not remain untouched by these transitions. From paternalistic charities, they moved, often, to service delivery through government contract, and developed into formalized social service agencies. Many have maintained their "private" roots by solicitation of funding through United Ways, Foundations, and other private sources, but few have escaped the endless scramble for government support. It is also contended that these social welfare agencies, big and small, have become like government, bureaucratic. (Weinberger, 1969:5)

In the period of relative affluence of the later 1950's and 1960's the "voluntary sector" - not-for-profit organizations - proliferated. The nature and extent of services available expanded dramatically but they no longer resembled the unorganized, unprofessional, moralistic services of the 19th Century. The human service system has become highly formalized, professionally administered, and in many cases directly or indirectly funded by public money. They do, however, continue to maintain a "voluntary" nature in the sense of being governed by "volunteers" - citizens of the community who work at board and committee levels to keep the agency accountable to the people it services.

As we will discuss in more detail later, volunteers do continue to play an important role even in many of these bureaucratic and professionalized systems. It appears that after a swing to professionalism in the period 1950-1965, organizations in the health, education and social service fields began, again, to look at the merits of volunteer-based programs. While volunteers have, generally, not replaced professionals, they have again become a significant support and adjunct to professionals and are, at present, in high demand.[5/]

B. SOCIAL ADVOCACY

As the services to individuals and families expanded after the middle of this century, so too did another wing of the volunteer movement. Perhaps in response to government's entry into the provision of health and social services, a great expansion in the number of "grassroots" citizens' organizations occurred, particularly in the 1960's and 1970's.

...

These groups have not only extended the types of services available in urban (and even rural) settings, but, in many cases, they have been established to offer "alternative" forms of treatment - alternative to what has become a very professional, bureaucratic, and formal service delivery system.

Influenced by an anti-bureaucratic philosophy, many citizens' groups have established a social advocacy function. Monitoring the delivery of services, gaps in services, and inequities in the formal system, such organizations, often run by volunteers alone have become "watchdogs" on the human services.

In addition, the "alternative" groups, based on a self-help and at times an anti-professional ethic have entered the scene to add new dimensions to the "helping professions" and innovative approaches to problem-solving.

These groups encompass many diverse objectives and employ many different tactics. What is common, however, is their aim to pioneer new areas of service, advocate for the delivery of such services, and their commitment to a role for citizens in self-help and the decision-making which affects their own lives. Katz and Proudfoot (1980-81: 18) refer to this type of volunteerism as the "Humanizing and democratizing" aspect of voluntary activity.

C. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT: BEYOND ECONOMIC EQUALITY

The history of organized labour extends back in time at least as far as that of the volunteer movement. Confined for many decades to the struggle for economic equality and improved working conditions in industry, there was little cause for contact with volunteers or the voluntary sector.

However, more recently, labour has been organizing in the public sector and has also turned its attention to dimensions of equality beyond simple economics.

Both of these patterns have increased the proximity of the labour and volunteer movements.

Beyond struggles for the equitable distribution of wealth, labour has moved in ways to guarantee basic social and human rights.

The Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto states:

> In the area of social rights, the labour movement is still battling to win acceptance for the position that every man, woman and child have (sic) a right to equal access to universal health care and a complete human services system, including an income maintenance program. (1982: 1-2)

In fact, this Labour Council suggests further that the "fight for social rights is just as important as earlier battles (labour) fought to guarantee our basic economic and political rights." (Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1982: 4)

These struggles have brought labour into the public forum where government has assumed the leading role in delivery of social welfare, human and health services, and alongside those in the voluntary sector who deliver services or, like labour, advocate for new and better services.

Also, with the increasing institutionalization and professionalization of human services over several decades came the gradual replacement of volunteers with paid staff. Whether employed by direct government-sponsored agencies or privately-funded voluntary organizations, paid staff and professional workers began to assume the roles previously held by volunteers. (Park, 1981: 3)

As an aside, it is interesting to note the continual shifting of roles for volunteers and the adaptability of volunteers to new areas of work:

> ...the voluntary movement in response to the welfare state, successfully developed its role as a pioneer to meet new needs and services as yet not identified or taken on by the welfare state services. But it should be noted that these voluntary efforts were not seen as an alternative form of provision but rather the piloting of new provision subsequently to be taken over by the welfare state and run by paid workers.
> (Bruce, 1979: 3)

...

The consequence of these shifts from volunteer to paid workers has been a substantial increase in the numbers of professionals active in the human services field. And, very recently, a dramatic increase in the numbers of these workers being represented by a collective bargaining agent.

Unions were confined, almost solely, to the industrial sector until the 1950's and early 1960's. Professional associations for employees such as social workers have existed for much longer but often undertook only social, recreational or networking functions for their members. However, for many reasons, public service employees and professionals in the social service system began to identify a need for action beyond the role of their "associations" to ensure job security, standards in working conditions, input into decisions, and grievance procedures.

It took many years for this process to be completed and it was not, for example, until 1973 that this province saw the formal beginning of its Ontario Public Service Employees Union. It was several years later that this union began to receive requests to act on behalf of workers in provincially-funded social service agencies such as Children's Aid Societies, Family Service Agencies, and so on.

As noted earlier, it was at roughly this same period of the late 1960's and early 1970's that volunteer programs began to proliferate in these same types of agencies.

Thus, we have come into a period where unionized employees have begun to share not only the human service field, but also the workplace with volunteers. And as a consequence, we have seen a relatively recent but mutually growing awareness of each toward the other.

D. MONITORING THE DELIVERY OF HUMAN SERVICES: POTENTIAL FOR CO-OPERATIVE ACTION

It is an extremely difficult task to sort through the administrative and financial dimensions of the contemporary human service system. For example, we can identify all of the following types of organizational and financial blends to be in existence now:

...

* Government departments delivering direct services

* Government-financed contracts for direct service administered through voluntary agencies

* Privately-funded voluntary agencies delivering direct services

* Privately-funded voluntary organizations engaged in social advocacy

* Government-supported "voluntary" organizations engaged in social advocacy

* Private business engaged in the delivery of direct services.

At the same time we can identify labour, government, and the voluntary sector as all having their own concerns and notions about what the "ideal" human service system ought to be.

Add to this picture, the current economic turmoil in which many are concerned about protecting paid-positions, and protecting programs and services as governments attempt to pull back on their supports in the human service system and as private fund-raising efforts more frequently conclude short of target totals.

Governments have begun to applaud the efforts of the voluntary sector [6] and to encourage that sector's increasing role in the delivery of services. Labour has noted the consequences of very similar government statements in Britain and the United States [7] and suspects that governments are looking to decrease their own responsibilities in the area.[8] Katz states that the Canadian federal government began to call for government social services cutbacks as early as 1976. He suggests further that at "the core of these policies is the attempt to systematically eliminate or twist into unrecognizable forms hard-won social welfare programs and policies." (1981 : 22)

...

The voluntary sector under the same economic pressures is attempting to maintain existing programs with fewer private and public dollars through a period of higher demand for services.

Among such blurred lines of responsibility and such a confused structure of service delivery grows a greater potential for tension between the volunteer and labour movements. Labour fears that the voluntary sector, with its expertise in volunteer program development may blindly or unwittingly rush in to fill gaps with volunteer-based services.

Two realities surface here to assist leaders of both sectors in their response.

The first is to note that a close look at what has been written on this topic points to agreement among labour, welfare, and volunteer representatives about the respective roles of government and the voluntary sector.

As early as 1958, writers in the social welfare field noted the shift to government-sponsored programs while at the same time recognizing the importance of the voluntary sector in "...establishing standards and checking the work of public agencies..." (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965: 166)
From the labour perspective, the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto states strongly that it remains governments' responsibility to provide a "universal and accessible social service and health care system" (1982: 3) while in the same policy paper stressing the voluntary sector's role as advocate, innovator, and monitor of services. Because there has developed much expertise in lobbying within the voluntary sector, and because of the proliferation of advocacy and citizens groups in the 1970's, it is likely that the voluntary sector will continue to assume these roles in the future.

Further, it is essential to note here that because the voluntary sector has come to depend on government financing in its delivery of services, government cutbacks threaten the survival of voluntary agencies themselves. In this sense it must be understood that the term "voluntary" does not mean simply "volunteer-based". Rather, it refers to the "not-for-profit" and "non-government" dimensions of these agencies. In fact, we can note the

...

high concentration of many professionals in the voluntary sector - professionals whose job security is threatened by government fiscal constraint. Thus, it is unlikely that the voluntary sector will be quick to allow unprotested government withdrawal from basic service provision, or unquestioningly rush in to try to fill the gaps through volunteer-based services. 9/

Within the literature on volunteering specifically we can find references to the same dilemma. No one knows better than those who work directly in the field of volunteering that volunteers have limits. Ivan Scheier, a leading expert in volunteerism, reflects a dominant perspective:

> Those who use the volunteer movement as an excuse for deeper cuts in human services are either extraordinarily naive or willfully manipulative. They should be made to say what they really mean: That they are willing to sacrifice quality and intensity of services to needy people, in favour of other priorities they have. They should not be allowed to invoke volunteers as a kind of magic which gets them off that hook. The last thing volunteers should be used for is further disservice to the weak and vulnerable of a nation, and damage to volunteerism itself through the raising of unrealistic expectations. (Scheier, 1983: 8)

It is clear, then, that while the fears of labour about the withdrawal of government funding may be soundly based, those same fears are shared by professionals in the voluntary sector and by those directly involved in the field of volunteerism. All have much at stake here and all offer objections to using volunteers as the solution to service cutbacks. Rather than cause for animosity between the volunteer and labour movements, government cutbacks could as easily spark a co-operative and co-ordinated resistence. What is required here is for leaders from both movements to recognize that they are on the same side; to recognize the potential ally in the other.

The second factor which could work to assist leaders of labour and the voluntary sector in sorting through their roles in relation to one another is a vast field of potential benefits to both sides in working together.

...

It is generally recognized that labour could represent a powerful and important force in decision-making and policy development in this country. What has not often been noted, however, is the potential power, as yet unmobilized in the voluntary sector. For example, in the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth alone 700 voluntary organizations exist. A conservative estimate put the number of active volunteers in this country in 1980-81 at 2.7 million persons (Statistics Canada, 1981).

It is precisely this type of alliance between labour and volunteers which a Senior Research Officer with the Canadian Union of Public Employees called for in 1981. In noting that the governments' "cutback strategy...runs against the interests of the vast majority of Canadian citizens", Larry Katz contends that a reversal of this present trend would require "alliances and coalitions between public employees and citizens looking for humane, forward-looking government policies and programs...". (1981: 23) It is clear that the voice of volunteers and that of voluntary organizations could represent a significant addition to the voice of labour in future struggles to preserve the services which both have worked hard to develop and secure.

Neither movement is unfamiliar or unskilled in the area of social advocacy and working together could very well advance the goals of both.

Further, both groups are easily able to reach out to the "grassroots" level to organize people into collective action. Labour, of course, has well established lines through its membership and the voluntary sector through its commitment to citizen participation in decision-making has remained closely tied to the communities it serves.

Labour must continue to be aware of the tremendous commitment of volunteers since its own history and growth has often depended on the (unpaid) organizing efforts of its members.[10/] The potential of the voluntary sector requires organizational effort to develop and many of the principles of rallying collective support pioneered by labour could be easily transferred to the voluntary sector.

...

Co-operative action at the local level between labour and the voluntary sector is not new. For example, labour councils have often supported fund-raising efforts of the voluntary sector such as United Way campaigns. Labour and the voluntary sector have also worked together closely in the provision of services such as in Unemployment Help Centres. Such co-operative ventures have brought the two sectors together to assist individuals, and have frequently provided a format where both can, together, "critique and monitor government policy". (Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1982: 4)

A very recent example of such co-operative action can be noted in British Columbia. In response to Premier Bennett's cutback proposals, a strong coalition including both organized labour and the voluntary sector has formed. That larger scale co-operation is possible is clearly illustrated in this case.

Labour and volunteers can be found working side-by-side in other settings too. In the case of a voluntary organization with organized workers, one may identify both union representatives and volunteers working together at decision-making levels through participation on committees or boards. That the union recognizes the importance of voluntary input into the management of the organization is clearly illustrated by the following Article (Number 8) taken from the collective agreement between the Y.W.C.A. of Metropolitan Toronto and F.O.C.A.S., the bargaining agent for "Y" employees:

> 8.01 The Association (Y.W.C.A.) is a voluntary organization. As such, it is committed through its history and philosophy, to the principle that policy is made by members of the community, serving in a volunteer capacity. Involvement by staff of the Employer in this process is always subject to the limitation that volunteers retain a voting majority in any policy-making group within the Association and/or the Employer.

In many cases, then, the ground work has been laid to allow the voluntary sector and labour to work together.

...

The potential for tension between labour and the voluntary sector could develop further as government attempts to step away from responsibility for social services, but only if the voluntary sector was to move to fill the space without protest. As the voluntary sector itself depends on government support, this response is unlikely.

On the other hand, the potential for co-operative action is much stronger. The benefits to both movements in increased communication and mutual support are clear.

It is hoped that each will recognize the potential ally in the other. It is hoped that leaders from the voluntary sector and the labour movement will actively work to explore this potential in order to "create a society based on the principles of universal franchise, economic justice and the equitable distribution of wealth and the guarantee of basic social and human rights to every man, women and child." (Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1982: 1)

SECTION II

SHARING THE WORKPLACE: THE ROLE OF VOLUNTEERS IN A PERIOD OF ECONOMIC RESTRAINT

The voluntary sector has a long history of identifying human needs, developing intervention strategies, documenting service requirements and encouraging the transition from voluntary to professionalized service delivery.

With the proliferation of human services in the 1950's and 1960's came increasing government financing of services and the hiring of paid staff to deliver social services. However, the institutionalization of these programs was accompanied by increasing bureaucracy and greater government involvement and control. Many voluntary organizations recognized the need to remain accountable to the community which they served, and have maintained citizen input at board and committee levels. In addition, the late 1960's and early 1970's was a period of expansion for citizens, neighbourhood, interest, and lobby groups which often aimed to regain decision-making power for the people affected by those decisions. As noted earlier, this period also saw the development of volunteer programs as supports to services being delivered by paid professionals.

Service organizations began to see the value of volunteer-based programs. As the areas and positions for volunteer involvement expanded, so too did the perceived advantages and benefits to volunteer participation in service delivery. The basis for utilizing volunteers has come to encompass a vast array of argument supporting volunteer-based delivery formats. For example, volunteers can offer services which simply cannot be paid for such as companionship and friendly visiting. Further, volunteers in these roles and in positions such as client-advocate can often add a client-centred dimension to the work which could never be achieved by a paid staff who necessarily is identified with the system for which he/she works. In many cases, volunteers bring with them varied interest, hobbies and skills which add unique components to their involvement. A volunteer with skills in drama has the potential to facilitate exciting new recreational activities in a residence for disabled adults while a volunteer with an interest in cooking brings valuable input to a life skills program for ex-psychiatric patients. ...

For these and a multitude of other reasons, volunteers are found in the greatest majority of human-service programs. They have come to share the workplace with paid staff over the last two decades, each working alongside the other.

Administrators and program directors have, for some time, been aware of the need to carefully manage volunteer/paid-staff relations. For the most part, cautious program design and placement have been rewarded with co-operative, satisfying, and productive volunteer programs.

The most typical policy around the appropriate use of volunteers has been that volunteers do not do the work of paid staff. Volunteers have been employed to pilot new programs, add a client-centered dimension to a program, or work as supports to paid staff. As McCurley (1979) suggests, volunteer programs have functioned on a "absolute position of non-replacement" whereby managers have been cautious not to use volunteers to do the work of paid-staff. He quotes a sample policy from the California Volunteer Network "Direct Service Volunteer Program Standards":

> Volunteers shall supplement, not supplant, activities and functions of employees and departmental programs and special projects.
>
> (a) Volunteers shall not displace a paid-worker or be placed in a job slot for which funding is available. This does not mean volunteers cannot apply for paid positions.
>
> (b) Tasks assigned to a paid-worker shall not be removed for the purpose of creating assignments for volunteers.
>
> (c) Volunteers shall not be substituted for classified staff when authorized positions can be filled.
>
> (quoted in McCurley, 1979: 15)

Szentlaszloi has documented the careful and easy introduction of a volunteer program required in a school system in the United States and points to the necessity of maintaining staff support for volunteer involvement:

> Good volunteer programs require a climate of acceptance, co-operation and collaboration on the part of volunteers and teachers. Even teachers who do not personally use volunteer help must accept the idea for the creation of a positive climate in a school. (1979: 25) ...

It is difficult to question this cautious approach, for volunteer-staff relations are key to successful volunteer programs. And certainly there remains enough work to be done in the human-services field that it seems at first glance to be a waste to debate about who ought to do what in cases where funding continues to be available for paid-staff. But generalizations concerning the "appropriate" role for volunteers remain difficult to draw.

While it can be said, at the most basic level, that volunteers do not do the work typically performed by paid-staff even this line can become blurred. For example, what may be defined in one agency as a paid-staff role may be defined by another organization as a volunteer position. Or, a position defined at one point in time as a volunteer position (such as periodic "overflow" typing) may grow into a sufficiently large or continuous task to warrant a part-time paid-worker.

At the policy or board level similar complexities arise. In a large organization the work of treasurer or bookkeeper may demand the employment of a skilled or professionally-trained staff person. A smaller organization may manage quite well with a volunteer board member who takes on this task or, as is often the case, a professional accountant may volunteer his or her time to the organization to perform such work without remuneration.

In light of these complexities, generalized guidelines such as "volunteers ought to act in supportive roles to paid-staff" are of little use.

McCurley (1981) and Duncan(1982) have both suggested an alternate approach to the question. Rather than defining the role of one in relation to the other, they suggest that the nature of the work itself should dictate who ought to do it. Duncan outlines an example wherein paid-therapists in a psychiatric institution were blocked in their progress with a patient because they were all perceived by the patient as "warders" keeping the patient in hospital against her will. When volunteers were assigned to the patient and fully briefed by the professionals, they were able to develop a relationship with the patient because they were not perceived by her to be part of "the system". This relationship was the central variable in turning the patient toward recovery.

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The development of this therapeutic relationship might normally be defined as appropriate only for professional therapists but in this case, the nature of the work proved that the trained non-professional could be more successful. Duncan concludes that the fundamental question about who performs a task is not "whose job is it?" but rather "who can achieve the most in performing the task?"

Duncan recognizes the problems inherent in this approach as they relate to trade unions, but argues firmly that the voluntary sector can no longer dodge the issue and must begin to look out for the best interests of both volunteers and clients.

McCurley parallels the perspective taken by Duncan in suggesting that the question of whether the person performing the task is or is not paid creates an artificial distinction: "No one really believes receiving a wage payment automatically makes one a professional; no one should believe that serving without pay automatically lifts one to a state of grace." (McCurley, 1981: 20)

It may be instructive for organizations to consider these arguments when determining the place of volunteer programs, but the dynamics, client needs, nature of the work to be done, and many other variables must all be addressed in the decision-making process. In addition, in the last few years, the economic constraints in the human-services field have added another complexity to the question of "appropriate" use of volunteer resources.

Many workers have begun to worry about maintaining their positions and unions have begun to vocalize their suspicions. Very few specific cases actually have been documented where volunteers have displaced paid-workers, but it is hard to deny that the potential could increase as previously funded programs lose support and as paid positions are reduced.

Two separate issues are raised here regarding the role of volunteers in relation to organized (and unorganized) paid-staff. It is very important to note the distinction between the two. The first issue involves <u>displacement</u> of paid-staff by volunteers and the arguments around this issue are more clear than around the second which involves the <u>replacement</u> of paid-staff by volunteers.

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A. DISPLACEMENT OF PAID STAFF

It is conceivable that volunteers could be recruited to do work which is currently performed by paid staff. In this situation, funding for the paid position(s) may continue to exist, but is turned to other uses while the program is maintained by unpaid-workers. In this sense the availability of a volunteer labour force figures as a threat to the job security of paid-workers. Because volunteers can be recruited to do such work, administrators would be able to cut paid positions and still maintain programs. This ability may be furthered because volunteers are more often bringing identifiable skills to their placements, and therefore can be requested to assume greater degrees of responsibility in more demanding or complex positions than in the past.

The displacementof paid-workers by volunteers is an issue about which labour is legitimately concerned although there is general agreement in the volunteer literature about this issue, congruent with the labour position.

It is generally held by leaders in the field of volunteerism that it is unethical to displace paid-workers by unpaid-workers. The volunteer movement strongly holds that while volunteers have a place in the delivery of services, it is a supportive role and should not be substituted for that of paid-staff.

In addition to the ethical arguments against displacement, there are a number of other factors working to discourage such misuse of volunteer resources. For example, volunteers are in high demand. There are many more appropriate ways to use their time and talents.

Potential tension or actual damage can also result from displacement. As noted earlier, the acceptance of volunteer involvement by paid-staff and productive working relationships between paid and unpaid workers are crucial to the successful operation of a volunteer program. Even the suggestion of displacement as a possibility can be sufficient to introduce

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suspicion, mistrust or antagonism into the workplace. In such a climate, volunteers are less likely to be satisfied by their involvement, job performance is likely to suffer and the program will most certainly be jeopardized.

Thus, while it may appear to be tempting to administrators of human-service programs to consider the cost (wage) saving consequences of displacement, strong resistance to such a move can be anticipated from labour and even unorganized staff, and from volunteer program managers as well. The inevitable tensions and suspicions will certainly affect the program and it is unlikely that such a decision would turn out to be worth the costs in the long run.

B. REPLACEMENT OF PAID STAFF

The second issue around the question of the role of volunteers surfaces when funding for paid positions is lost and it is clear that the program cannot be maintained on any other than a volunteer basis. In such instances outside forces such as a shortfall in fund-raising appeals or government withdrawal of support work in such a way as to make it impossible to retain current (paid) staff levels.

Administrators are more frequently encountering this situation under present eoonomic difficulties and must face, head on, the possibility of cutting services to clients at a time when client demand is also expanding because of the same economic conditions.

The difference, then, between "displacement" and "replacement" focusses on timing. With displacement, the potential for using volunteers in service delivery could actually lead to cutting paid positions. With replacement, other factors demand reduction of paid positions and only then is the possibility of volunteer-based service delivery considered. In the latter case the ethical arguments become less clear because volunteer involvement is not the cause of job loss and can sometimes be the only method available to maintain services to clients.

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On one hand it does seem unfortunate to deny services to "needy" clients when alternative delivery methods are within reach. On the other hand, as labour has pointed out, there are reasonable, longer-term consequences of such actions.

Awareness of the potential to recruit volunteers to fill previously paid positions may actually prove to be a contributing factor in the decision to withdraw funding. For example, if government withdraws support for a service and hears no ardent protest from client groups (because the latter continues to receive some measure of service through volunteers) then that government action is easier. Even though agency management may protest loss of funding as much as possible, larger scale reaction to diminished funding may be "buffered" by the use of volunteers.

A second point to note here deals with the "masking of need" effect of replacing paid-staff by volunteers. On the assumption that funding, at some point in the future, may become available, it would be more difficult to press for that funding if the services are being delivered, more or less satisfactorily, by volunteers. In this way, using volunteers could be a deterrent to future re-funding of paid positions.

These arguments against replacement appear reasonable and present the human service sector with a serious dilemma. On the one hand, clients may suffer from a temporary or longer-term absence of needed services. On the other hand, a short-term remedy may work against a long-term solution.

McCurley has suggested that this dilemma may be leading to a shifting policy about appropriate uses of volunteers - whereas the previous policy was one of "absolute non-replacement", we can see a shift to conditional replacement:

> Volunteers should not be responsible for replacement of paid-staff, but if outside forces create that vacancy, volunteers may step in to deliver essential services. (1979: 15)

Given the long-term risks, one is compelled to agree with McCurley who says of such a policy: "That, to be blunt, is a dangerous tightrope to tread". (1979: 15)

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In a unionized agency, the bargaining agent will be present to monitor the potential for either replacement or displacement. As in the potentially precedent-setting case with the London Humane Society (Ontario Labour Relations Board, 1982), the union may move to grievance proceedings and management runs the risk of both loosing the dispute and trying to pull together the pieces of a sorely damaged volunteer/staff relationship. Even in non-unionized settings, the long-range risks of replacement and the ethical and practical dangers of displacement may be sufficient to discourage either.

In terms of a recommendation, one cannot suggest blanket solutions to the dilemmas posed by shrinking budgets and the potential of expanding volunteer-based services. While the ideal would always be a full complement of paid-staff working co-operatively with unpaid staff in supportive roles, far less than the ideal in the human services field presently exists.

Labour is sensitive to the potential threat which volunteers can pose to job security and references can be found to such threats in the labour movement's literature. The added danger is an increase in animosity between the labour and volunteer movements [11/] if some managers decide to misuse or exploit the goodwill of volunteers in seeking solutions to financial problems.

It is the aim here to simply point out the associated risks in such difficult decisions. Each agency and organization must seek its own course of action, tailored to its individual circumstances. It would clearly be advisable, however, that agreements be reached quickly, if they do not already exist, concerning the "appropriate" use of volunteers within the organization.

Regardless of whether staff are unionized, management, volunteers and staff ought to be clear about the purpose of employing volunteers, what type of work volunteers will be requested to perform, and the limits to that work. Clear policy is required and ideally will be determined tri-

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laterally among management, staff (or their bargaining agent), and volunteer delegates. All three parties should be consulted in the process of adding volunteer positions within an agency or in changing existing job descriptions.

The Canadian Union of Public Employees, for example, has taken note of instances where employers have misused volunteers in "attempts to take away the work of regular employees". To protect the work of the bargaining unit, they have a clearly-worded clause dealing with this issue in the C.U.P.E. Standard Agreement which can be negotiated into contracts:

> Article 3.02 Work of the Bargaining Unit:
>
> Persons whose jobs (paid or unpaid) are not in the bargaining unit shall not work on any jobs which are included in the bargaining unit, except in cases mutually agreed by the parties. (quoted in Calvert, 1980: 128)

As a "rule of thumb" one might examine closely the nature of the work to be done and determine on that basis who is best equipped to perform the task. While the general policy suggesting that volunteers ought to be confined to "supportive" roles in relation to paid staff can be kept in mind, the complexities of human service delivery make such generalizations nearly meaningless. It should be emphasized, however, that whatever the outcome of the decision-making process, volunteers and paid-staff should be fully aware of how their positions relate to those of the other and where the limitations to those positions exist.

In circumstances where an agency is faced with funding cutbacks, the literature seems quite clear that volunteers should never be recruited to displace paid-staff as a cost-saving alternative. That is, every attempt ought to be made to save those positions. If however, their loss is inevitable, an agency may consider maintaining some level of service through volunteer involvement. There are both short and long-term risks associated with such a decision.

Let it suffice to conclude here that there remains great potential in the work of volunteers and great potential for staff - paid and unpaid - to work co-operatively. It would be truly unfortunate for these potentials to go unrealized because of the insensitivity of either to the legitimate concerns and dilemmas of the other.

SECTION III

THE ROLE OF VOLUNTEERS DURING A STRIKE

The question of what the role of volunteers ought to be during a work stoppage is undoubtedly one of the most difficult and volatile within the issue of volunteer/union relationships. It is the question upon which one can find the most diverse perspectives and advice. [12/] And, it is a question surfacing more frequently as labour increasingly organizes in the public sector where volunteers are concentrated.

It has become clear to the Hamilton Volunteer Bureau through consultations with voluntary organizations, that this question exists in many agencies which have not, as yet, determined policy or guidelines about whether or under what circumstances volunteer resources will be utilized in the event of a strike. It is also clear that the intense feelings which predominate during a work stoppage suggest that this question, perhaps more than any other, ought to be addressed immediately by all organizations in which a strike is at all possible.

In response to increasing interest in the question, the central aim of this section is to strongly encourage organizations to face the issue. The various arguments for and against the use of volunteers in strike situations will be outlined with the hope that action will be taken to develop acceptable policies well in advance of a work stoppage.

A. TO USE VOLUNTEERS DURING A STRIKE

There are a number of tenable arguments in favour of employing the services of volunteers during a work stoppage. Depending on the nature of the work conducted by the agency in question, some essential services may be required to continue throughout the course of the strike. While management personnel will "fill in" as much as possible, there may be gaps with which volunteers could assist instead of bringing in "scab" labour. If it is possible to outline, in advance, what these tasks will be and gain acceptance from staff or their bargaining agent, the use of volunteers may be a more palatable solution than the "scabs" alternative.

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It may be even easier to gain acceptance for volunteers to simply continue their regular work but not to take on additional duties. In certain circumstances such as a hospital or nursing home, for example, the assurances, companionship and support offered by volunteers throughout the strike may make it much easier for residents or patients during that period. In an extension of this argument, it has been contended that by looking out for the feelings of patients, volunteers could actually act as a positive public relations factor for the union.

Because feelings run particularly high in the course of a public sector strike with community attitudes playing a greater role than in an industrial-setting strike (Laarman, 1979: 21) more public attention is turned to the plight of the "client" caught in the middle. I.W. Bruce notes that if union agreement can be obtained for volunteers to perform these services to clients,

> ...it is often the case that the striking workers are quite pleased that volunteers undertake certain emergency duties. In this way, the union can then feel that it is being militant and pushing its sanctions to the limit but that the humanitarian instincts of union members can be satisfied with the knowledge that their action will not bring about undue suffering. More pragmatically, it will not result in a loss in public sympathy for the strike action because of extreme difficulties experienced by clients. (Bruce, 1979: 9)

Again, depending on the nature of the work of the organization, there may be substantial community support for continued or even increased volunteer involvement. Szentlaszloi (1979: 25) states this as an element considered in a decision around whether to use volunteers in the event of a teacher strike because "Parents do NOT want schools close!" Similarly, Berman describes the use of many specially-recruited volunteers during a strike in the Hebrew Home for the Aged in Riverdale, New York. By special appeals throughout the Jewish community and to a neighbouring Catholic college, they had a minimum of 30 volunteers a day:

> On some days, as many as 70 people came to offer help. The spirit of mercy and benevolence radiated and encompassed the Orthodox community in Riverdale. Dozens of Jews for whom the home was merely a beautiful edifice on the banks of the Hudson, crossed our threshold for the first time. After their initial experience, they were drawn back almost magnetically. (Berman, 1979: 21)

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Another factor which may make the choice of using volunteers during a strike more feasible, is the attitude of the volunteers themselves. While most authors have pointed out that all volunteers should be free to choose whether they will or will not cross a picket line, volunteers willingly agreeing to do so will undoubtedly facilitate the decision to use them.

Flexibility in the form the involvement will take may facilitate the process. For example, Berman notes that some volunteers chose not to cross the picket lines, but kept in touch with residents by phone or postcard during the Riverdale strike.

In other types of settings, volunteers may be able to continue their regular activities without having to cross the picket line. If this arrangement can be made by taking work out to volunteers - away and out of sight of the picketers - such involvement will be less provoking.

A series of eight guidelines concerning the relations between paid and volunteer workers was developed by the Volunteer Centre in Berkhamstead, England. This leaflet notes the problem of volunteers crossing a picket line and suggests:

> If volunteers are faced with a picket line which is not prepared to agree that the volunteer workers should cross, the volunteers should not attempt to do so but discuss the situation with their organizer of the voluntary service, who should, in turn, discuss it with union and management officials. (The Volunteer Centre, 1975).

It goes on to note, however, that a prior agreement which is well known by management and all union members, would significantly reduce the chances of such conflicts. In the event of a picket line, they suggest each volunteer be issued with a document signed by management and a shop steward indicating the basis on which the agreement to work has been determined.

It is interesting to point out the guideline from this same organization about the role of volunteers during a strike. As will be noted later in this chapter, strong resistance to the use of volunteers during a strike

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exists within the volunteer movement itself and resistance might also be anticipated from labour delegates. In contrast, the committee of the Volunteer Centre which developed these guidelines (and which comprised delegates from labour and volunteer staff) does not discourage the use of volunteers during a strike. They simply suggest a limit to that involvement:

> Volunteers in the situation of industrial action should undertake no more voluntary work than they would do in the normal situation.
>
> Any departure from normal work should only take place with the agreement of management and those staff organizations involved in the dispute. (The Volunteer Centre, 1975)

Whatever the reason and variables in the decision to use volunteers during a strike, certain other guidelines and suggestions may be useful to add here.

Every attempt should be made to co-operatively set policies. The bargaining agent's involvement in determining and approving the volunteers' role during a strike would be ideal. Staff should have detailed information about this form of agreement well in advance so that they understand the limits of the volunteers' role inside.

Volunteers should also be informed (at their earliest contact with the organization) of the policy, expectations and limits surrounding their function during a strike. Some volunteers may choose not to be associated with an organization which uses volunteers during a strike and the volunteers' own position and philosophy should be respected at all times. Further, volunteers ought to be fully informed about what to expect if they are asked and agree to cross a picket line. Feelings may run extremely high, particularly in a strike in the public sector:

> Volunteers are likely to encounter a wave of suspicion and hostility when they "fill in" for public employees, since public employees generally take a huge risk when they decide to strike.... Therefore, an individual considering a volunteer role during an actual or threatened public employee strike should be aware that the regular staff members are under extreme pressure, fighting for their rights as workers as well as for improved compensation and working conditions. (Laarman, 1979: 21)

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The American Hospital Association, in a detailed set of guidelines around the use of volunteers during a work stoppage, suggests a minimum age be established for volunteers: "Because of the highly emotional state of some strikers, it normally would not be a good idea to expect minors to cross a picket line". (American Hospital Association, 1978)

This same set of guidelines also advises the director of volunteers to arrange escorts for volunteers crossing picket lines when entering and leaving the hospital and to determine the volunteer's wishes about whether official records of his or her time during the strike will be kept.

There may be an option, in some instances, to recruit volunteers from the community rather than from the corps of regular volunteers. In this way, regular volunteers will not be faced with conflicts arising because they have worked side-by-side with employees and the regular volunteers will almost certainly be in a better position after the strike if they have remained neutral throughout the dispute. However, if new recruits are located, extra care in their supervision will be necessary.

If a prior agreement has been reached with union representatives concerning what volunteers will and will not do during a strike, this agreement must be closely honoured. The temptation of volunteers to do more, or of management to ask volunteers to do more, must be resisted. And, it must be assured that volunteers are fully trained and adequately prepared to do the work asked of them.

Even within the guidelines noted above and even in cases where legitimate and tenable arguments favour the use of volunteers during a strike, there may remain some serious and perhaps even dangerous consequences from active volunteer involvement. It is necessary to look at the "other side" before determining the best course of action.

B. NOT TO USE VOLUNTEERS DURING A STRIKE

Laarman has pointed out that the employer-employee relationship in a public employment context does not differ significantly from such a relationship

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in private industry. Public institutions and voluntary agencies, by definition, are not operating to make a profit and may therefore "give the impression that they are not really employers subject to labour-management problems". (1979: 20) However, even without a profit motive, managers in the human service field are under extreme pressure to balance budgets and maintain services. The rights of workers to make wage demands and ensure quality working conditions do not differ in the public service either.

Appealing to the question of "who's right?" in any strike situation is therefore not very useful as a method to determine where one's role as a volunteer ought to be. In fact, it has been argued that "neutrality" should be the key principle guiding decisions. Bringing volunteers into an agency or institution during a strike may automatically establish the "side" with which volunteers will be identified. Szentlaszloi suggests further, that even recruiting new volunteers to work during a strike is problematic for it would "add a third 'power group', the community, to strengthen one side...against the other...". (1979: 25)

This element of neutrality appears to dominate the reasoning behind many policies which hold that volunteers ought not to work during a strike. For example, the Joint Statement of the National School Volunteer Program and the National Education Association (U.S.A.) states:

> The best interests of students is served when volunteers and school staff work co-operatively. In any situation of controversy, the successful relationship between volunteers and teachers can best be maintained if the school volunteer program adopts a position of neutrality. In the event of a strike or other interruptions of normal school operations, the school volunteer program shall not function in the schools. (quoted in McCurley, 1979: 15)

And, this quote from William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees:

> During strikes, a volunteer's proper position should be as neutral bystander. Certainly, the volunteer shouldn't cross a picket line and take a regular worker's job. This neutral stance is dictated both by humanitarianism and rationality. (quoted in McCurley, 1979: 16)

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While few could object to the rule that volunteers must be able to freely choose whether or not to volunteer during a strike, some contend that asking even a willing volunteer will place that individual in the middle of an unpleasant adversarial context. With the high public profile of a strike in the human services field and the greater tension Laarman contends exists in these settings, a convincing argument can be made against using any volunteers during a strike.

There seems little question that volunteer involvement during a strike will have the effect of prolonging the strike. Although volunteer services may make the experience easier for the patient or client, the net effect may be to draw the situation out longer.

Laarman advises:

> The best services a would-be volunteer can render in a strike is to do whatever he or she can to END THE STRIKE. Not only does a strike settlement mean restoration of the best possible services for the consumer, but it also means that volunteers can return to their proper ADJUNCT role in the institution. (1979: 21)

An associated risk in volunteers continuing or expanding their regular role during a strike lies in the potential for individuals to get "beyond their depth". Many factors contribute to this potential such as a volunteer seeing things not getting done and from good intentions being tempted to "fill in"; the absence of usual levels of supervisory input for volunteers because staff are not present and managers are likely to be occupied by additional duties; the absence of adequate training or preparation of newly recruited volunteers or of volunteers recruited to do different work during the strike. Volunteers performing duties beyond their ability or beyond their job descriptions can have dangerous results for the volunteer, for the client, and for the agency, and in a strike setting, the possibilities for volunteers to get beyond their limits are much greater.

Despite these risks and ethical arguments around the use of volunteers as "strike breakers", some employers will value highly the short-term advantages of volunteer involvement during a strike.

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What must be fully considered, however, are the long-term consequences for both individuals and the program. As Szentlaszloi (1979) has noted, the relationship between paid and unpaid staff is crucial to a successful volunteer program. Without the full acceptance of paid staff, volunteers will soon detect tension, lose job satisfaction and leave the program. (It must be remembered that without a pay cheque, job satisfaction serves as the basis for high retention levels in a volunteer program.) It is obvious that paid staff are not likely to favour the volunteer who crosses the picket line or who, in any way functions to prolong a strike. In perceiving the volunteer to be "on the other side", volunteer-staff relations in the post-strike setting will surely suffer. Szentlaszl·i raises the crucial question here:

> Is it worth risking the destruction of the programs and relationships built up slowly over several years and possibly losing those (thousands of) hours of volunteer help? (1979: 25)

In the case where she was involved, the school board decided the risks to volunteers and to the volunteer program were far too great to warrant the short-term value of volunteers working through the strike. She notes that in this way, volunteers were to be in a much better position to aid the "healing" process when normal activities were resumed (Szentlaszloi, 1979). Again, the preservation of the volunteers' neutrality puts them in a unique position after the strike to address residual bitterness and to help bring the setting back to normal.

When an agency, organization or institution in the human services field considers the possibility of a strike, there are many factors to think through before determining what role volunteers will fill. The decision is not an easy one and valid arguments exist in both directions. It appears that fewer risks accompany the decision to not use volunteers during a labour-management dispute although it is also likely that service-dependents will suffer more.

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Where the priority is to be placed is clearly a matter to be determined in each individual setting. One cannot over-emphasize, however, the central points to remember. Regardless of the content of the policy, it should be:

(a) tri-laterally determined (volunteer, labour, and management involvement)

(b) mutually acceptable

(c) fully understood by all three parties

(d) rigidly enforced

(e) in existence long before a strike becomes likely.

SECTION IV

THE CO-ORDINATOR OF VOLUNTEERS: CENTRALITY AND A CALL TO ACTION

The late 1960's and the 1970's constituted a period of rapid expansion for volunteer programs within voluntary organizations and service institutions. Larger scale and professionalized services to clients were given a new dimension with the addition of volunteer-based support services. Often client-centered and often adding supplementary assistance which couldn't be paid for, volunteers were recruited in greater numbers to the human service field.

Increasing sophistication, complexity, and responsibility have characterized the majority of volunteer programs over the last two decades. Administrators have noted the benefit which volunteers can bring to an agency's services. But along with this renewed involvement of volunteers has often come the understanding that volunteer programs are not "free". Volunteer programs are, in fact, only cost-effective when they are well-managed.

In recognition of this need for management of volunteers, there has been a sharp rise in the number of co-ordinator of volunteers positions being created. In many instances these have become paid positions and in other cases paid staff have been assigned the role of co-ordinator as part of their regular work responsibilities.

Accompanying the development of volunteer programs has been the associated expansion of knowledge, principles and identifiable skills to guide co-ordinators of those programs. The field of volunteer management has swelled with its own body of specialized literature and educational courses.

Some of this has been translated for the volunteer movement from theories on personnel, public relations and human resource management in the industrial setting. But it is more recently understood that the bases for volunteer productivity are very different from those of paid employees. The nature of volunteer involvement demands specialized attention.

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Volunteers' motivations are complex, and without the lure of a pay cheque, dimensions such as job satisfaction, personal return, and personal growth require careful attention. In this sense retention of volunteers in a program becomes a crucial element to that program's success and the co-ordinator must remain aware of the vicious cycle of recruitment, training, placement, and loss, only to start again with new recruits.

As noted earlier, the relationship between paid and unpaid staff is central to volunteer retention and to the smooth operation of volunteer services. If paid staff can feel the support of their unpaid co-workers without an accompanying threat to job security, and if volunteers can, in turn, feel approval for their work combined with a sense of personal productivity, the program will be much better assured of success. As manager of volunteer services, the co-ordinator is key to facilitating co-operative volunteer-staff relations.

The co-ordinator of volunteers may hold a rather unusual position in many agencies or organizations. She/he is likely to be seen as an advocate for the rights and welfare of volunteers; she/he will be perceived in some senses as a personnel manager; and may play the additional role of department head. In an organized agency the co-ordinator could be management, could be a member of the bargaining unit, or in an unusual instance, both. The location of the position varies from setting-to-setting but inevitably, as an advocate for volunteers and the volunteer program, co-ordinators are typically rooted in the middle - between labour and management.

Whether it would be better to be identified with labour or with management is a debatable point. What is clear, however, is that the co-ordinator must be able to understand and work with both in order to look out for the interests of volunteers. This can often mean being centered between conflicting positions.

To begin to initiate discussion about the place of volunteers, their role in relation to paid staff (i.e., the limits to that role), the process required to change or add volunteer jobs, and other policy considerations relevant to the topic of this paper will be difficult for many co-ordinators. Sometimes it may be tempting to conclude one ought to leave well enough alone. It appears from the potential seriousness of these questions, however, that steps to address them are wholly necessary. The dangers associated with not working through these questions to policy design are too great to permit comfortable avoidance.

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The onus must be placed on the co-ordinator to initiate discussions, to push for guidelines, and to ensure union, management and volunteers are consulted and informed throughout this process. The onus must be placed on the co-ordinator to keep communication open in order to maintain working relationships with both management and the bargaining agent.

There is no indication that economic constraints are going to magically disappear in the near future. There is no indication that government will suddenly re-accept responsibility for funding all human service positions. There is no evidence to suggest that unions are going to go away. The issues covered in this paper are going to be around for a while and the potential for tensions to increase exists.

While we cannot offer concrete solutions to individual settings we can and do strongly urge co-ordinators to pursue these questions. Some bargaining agents, staff associations or management groups may take the initiative to begin working on these questions. Ultimately, the responsibility for such action lies with the co-ordinator. And, the time to begin is immediately.

SECTION V

CONCLUSION

The increased proximity of the labour and volunteer movements in the public sector has resulted in each movement's growing awareness of the other. Certain issues surface as a consequence of these movements sharing a concern over the survival of the human service system and as a consequence of organized labour sharing the workplace with volunteers.

The transition from unorganized charity to government sponsorship of human services necessitated adaptability in voluntary action. Voluntary organizations have come to administer government-financed programs while volunteers have moved into positions alongside paid-staff who deliver services in their communities. Volunteers have also organized community- and neighbourhood-based efforts to monitor service delivery.

During the same period, labour has taken up the struggle for a universally accessible, comprehensive human service system while more recently beginning to organize in the public sector.

Some labour organizations have noted a concern that the voluntary sector's potential to fill gaps left by government withdrawal of support may contribute to that withdrawal. Labour has therefore begun to look cautiously on the role of the voluntary sector. However, as one examines the vested interest which the voluntary sector has in continued government involvement and that sector's role in social advocacy, it becomes clear that labour and the voluntary sector share many objectives and both seek the same end.

At the general level of service delivery, labour and voluntary organizations might profitably pursue co-operative action for shared concerns and the potential for benefits to both from such co-operative action exist.

At the more specific level of the workplace, greater numbers of volunteers have been working alongside paid-staff. It is commonly recognized that volunteers hold great potential and can add irreplaceable dimensions to the services

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delivered by paid-staff. In the development of new positions, managers might profitably examine the nature of the work which needs to be done and determine on that basis whether a paid or unpaid staff is most "appropriate". Appealing to the simple concept of volunteers as "supports" to paid-staff no longer addresses the complexity of the delivery system or the alternative intervention strategies continually being piloted.

Most recently staff cutbacks have left administrators, unions, and volunteer managers with a curious dilemma.

It is generally agreed that the availability of volunteers should never be the cause of a staff cutback, but when outside circumstances result in the loss of paid-staff, volunteers could be recruited to continue service delivery. There are certain long-term risks associated with the replacement of paid-staff by volunteers. It is suggested that each agency must seek its own answers here but it is essential that the concerns of paid-staff and the aim of administrators to ensure service to clients be considered in the process of response.

It is often not until the potential for a strike or a work stoppage becomes real that agencies begin to think about the role volunteers might assume during the strike. Due to the tension and confusion which typically surrounds a strike, it is strongly recommended that every organization detail a plan around the role of volunteers.

Arguments can be made for and against using volunteers during a strike, depending on variables such as the nature of the organization's service, community attitudes, the attitude of volunteers and staff. Policy must therefore be developed by each agency to address the question of where volunteers will be during a strike. Ideally this policy will be: tri-laterally determined (management, volunteers, and labour); mutually acceptable; understood by all; rigidly enforced; and in place long before a strike becomes likely.

That the interests of labour and management are not always congruent is obvious, and the volunteer program may be in the middle of competing perspectives. Because volunteer programs require careful management and because accepting relations between volunteers and paid-staff are essential to the program's survival,

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every effort must be made to maintain open communication between representatives of volunteers, labour and management. It will often fall to the co-ordinator of volunteers to initiate and/or facilitate such communication. As advocate for volunteers and the volunteer program the co-ordinator must be able to listen to the concerns of the bargaining unit and management. She/he must accept responsibility for initiating policy development and ensure that such policy is enforced on a day-to-day basis, and in the event of a work stoppage.

While neither the labour movement nor the volunteer movement is new, the attention being paid by each to the other is a relatively recent phenomenon. That a potential for conflict between the two exists over the general question of "who is to do what in the human service system" and over the specific questions of replacement and the role of volunteers during a strike cannot be denied. However, a greater potential for satisfactory resolutions to these questions may develop if each movement will face the justifiable concerns of the other and move in the direction of early and continued dialogue. In most instances it is likely that such communication will lead to the realization by both that a great ally exists in the other.

NOTES

1. I. W. Bruce (1979: 3) states that in spite of "general union suspicion and dislike of voluntary health and welfare services" in Britain over many years, "they had up until 1970 done little to actively oppose the volunteer contribution". Bakal (1980), speaking about the United States suggests Nixon's move to encourage volunteering while cutting government welfare services to be an early cause for concern, and NOW issued a statement in 1971 on the exploitation of volunteers and their potential to replace paid staff.

   Chapin's discussion is one of the earliest Canadian references to Union - volunteer tensions (1977: 10-12). The Canadian Union of Public Employees (C.U.P.E.) addressed the issue directly in a 1980 publication (see Calvert: 1980) and the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto issued a policy paper in 1982 on the respective roles for government and the voluntary sector in human service delivery.

2. See for example, Coinner (1979) who describes examples from an "Eastern Canadian" hospital and the Toronto Big Brothers organization or the decision in the London Humane Society case (Ontario Labour Relations Board, 1982).

3. For a discussion of these changing perceptions of Social Welfare, see Weinberger (1969: Section II) or Romanyshyn (1971: 33-80).

4. Romanyshyn (1971: 6) for example, notes in a quotation from the late 1920's an "insistence on charity, especially its voluntary expression, as the right and proper way to ameliorate the conditions of the poor because it provided for discretion in the use of scarce resources to favour the 'worthy, poor' - those in need through 'no fault of their own'."

...

5. When the Hamilton Volunteer Bureau began in 1963, one of its central aims was to illustrate to agencies in the human service field the advantages to using volunteers. It seems that few agencies employed volunteers at that time. Two decades later the pattern has reversed, and there are very few "voluntary organizations" which do not use direct-service volunteers. In fact, there has grown to be much competition for volunteers. The Volunteer Bureau, at the time of the writing, is carrying information on 194 different volunteer position vacancies in this community.

6. This applause for the merits of the voluntary sector by government has occurred recently in spite of governments having done very little by way of policy or legislation to support voluntary activity in this country. See, for example, the document by National Voluntary Organizations "Voluntary Action" (no date) which outlines this legislative and policy void.

7. I. W. Bruce outlines British developments in the early 1970's where successive Conservative and Labour administrations "cutback drastically on the rate of growth of government health and welfare services" while at the same time they were encouraging greater voluntary activity. Bruce states that the consequence was growing aggression from the organized labour movement towards the involvement of volunteers in government services. (1979: 3-4)

Carl Bakal describes a very close parallel in the U.S. during the same time period where Nixon, in his inaugural address said "We are approaching the limits of what government alone can do.... Our greatest need is to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and committed". Bakal notes that "at the same time (Nixon) was promoting voluntarism as a cure-all for our social ills, he was cutting down federal spending for social welfare..." (1980: 75)

...

8. The policy paper of the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto, for example, notes that the present Ontario government "have clearly demonstrated that they have no intention in taking on any major responsibility for the delivery of social services and health care programmes" while that same government "now propose(s) that the voluntary sector increase its involvement in and responsibility for, the provision and delivery of all social services and programs required by the community in order to make up for the shortfall in government's responsibility". (1982: 2)

9. Professional groups employed in the voluntary sector generally applaud the work of volunteers but simultaneously recognize the limits to the volunteers' role. They raise a concern similar to that of labour around the potential for volunteer services in the wake of government retreat. See, for example, Park, 1981.

10. Coinner (1979: 4) quotes from a speech by Arte Kube, Regional Director of Education, Canadian Labour Congress in 1977, in which he observed: "if it wasn't for volunteers, unions could not function".

11. One can find evidence to suggest that such animosity already exists. For example, the Canadian Union of Public Employees published an article in 1980 which moves beyond concerns related to job security. This article addresses many legitimate concerns of labour around the misuse of volunteers to displace and replace paid-staff. However, it also contains sweeping, and rather inflamatory generalizations such as: "Volunteers are often poorly trained or totally lacking in training.... They have no formal job descriptions or job responsibilities.... Frequently, regular employees are required to rectify mistakes of volunteers. (Calvert, 1980: 128)

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12. McCurley (1979: 16) documents the results of a 1976 survey by the (U.S.A.) National Centre for Voluntary Action which asked leaders and co-ordinators of volunteers in the field:

	YES	NO
* Should volunteers continue to work during a strike of paid staff?	1,584	1,058
* Should volunteers take on duties of striking paid workers?	860	1,876

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